/104 cont./

171 of the Sâadians, tried to participate in the game. They did so with more or less good luck or damage. Unfortunately, the little that the sources impart to us about it does not permit specifying with sufficient verisimilitude what the life of these groups in perpetual oscillation, and practicing in a way an agricultural transhumance, might have been at this time (2).

2. Phenomenon observed in Algeria toward the middle of the last century, X. Yacono, Les bureaux arabes et l'évolution des genres de vie indigènes dans l'ouest du Tell algérien /The Arab offices and the evolution of the native modes of life in the west of the Algerian Tell/, 1953, pp. 46 sq.

178 221 The present antithesis between shepherds and plowmen, the latter sedentary, the former moving, and the consequences that one draws from it today are therefore perhaps not merited for the Morocco of the time. In the fifteenth century, the movement appears general. How would the Seksawa, at the time of their expansion of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, have avoided it? One hestitates to believe it.

174 648 221 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Not yet completely lost perhaps is the memory of a state of things when the ground of Inzzlyma, downstream from Bul^{c}wân, long contested by the Ud Besseba^{c}, was the dâr al-h'arth of the mountain cantons. As though by an irresistible vocation, ones such as these persist in cultivating there lots that they rent or obtain precariously from the present rightful claimants, the "collectivities" of the a. Abdella and of the a. Imintanout. The complete absence of documents, the present qualification of "communal," muchû^{c} or lmuch^{c}, indicate still today at any rate that the appropriation of land of the landed estate has been traditionally reserved.

[423] [427]

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233 221 648 weak part pushes toward the Dwiran-Ud Besseba^{c} confines, yet without reaching, as does the herd of the more easterly tribes, the well-known ground of the Lmjjûn. The larger part scuds along toward the W. Through the pass of the Amjnas, it reaches, in lower Mtugga, the grounds of Amskennid', of Sidi ^{c}Abdelmumen (already hagiologically related to the Haut Dwiran), of Berdami, of the Id'ergan. Still farther, it crosses the Jebel Kharruba, and, skipping over the collection of Zahr u T'âmer, it stops among the Ud Besseba^{c}, on their Jbayl "mountainettes" (1).

1. If pasturage is poor in Ud Besseba^{c}, the movement is indeed even greater. The herd from the western Dir flows largely into a. Iggas, /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ into Chyâd'ma, up to the sea. That from the Haouz climbs back into Chaouia. In 1952, this return to the old wandering of the shepherd, and also to his privilege, was sometimes practiced according to the most modern modalities: the renting of farmers' lands far in the N., rapid transport of the sheep by truck.

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The herd that descends from the Dwiran and /115/ the Mez'ud'a also splits into two branches. But its angle of divergence and the distance of its objectives are much greater, because on the one side it reaches the Lmjjûn, on the other Sidi Mokhtâr, on the Mogador route, and even farther, the tribe of the H'mer. Moreover, the latter, albeit rarely, stays in autumn in the lower valleys of the Wâd l-Ibûr, of the Lqihra, and the lower Mez'ud'a. But those are isolated cases. The rule is the irreversibility of the movement of hibernal descent from the mountain to the plain. On the other side of the peak, from the N. to the S., some a. H'adduyws herds descend in winter into the valley of the Sous, to

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241 441 237 of mercantile economy. The case is all the more striking because, in the old rural order, a number of things are removed from commerce. milk, for example, which is never sold, and straw, which is carelessly left on the fields. But the animal manure not only forms the tacit counterpart of the pacts of transhumance or of common pasturage, but can even give rise to ciphered dealings. (675)

[692] These particularities appear in full light in an arbitral decision of the fqih Belwāh', of the Bas /Lower/ Demsira, a magistrate whose montagnard appurtenances (he was born in the wild valley of the a. Mh'nd u Musa, which the Bwibaun separates from our a. Lh'sen) render very revcaling judgments of the view of a milieu intent on compromising between the law and the ancestral custom.

691 692 237 427 It is a matter of litigation between a sākin, "a precarious resident," and the master of the house, who suddenly asks him for a rent of equivalence. The other one retorts by demanding the price of the manure of his beasts. The fqih, by dint of citations from ᶜAmal, came to establish that the first demand was unjustified, and the second one justified. He knowingly refers to the rural custom, which does not recognize rents for this kind of installation: without doubt (and although this is unavowed) because such pacts depend upon the clientele and thus contain a deep antinomy with the contractual law. On the other hand, it is not at all the same for animal manure: this is a commodity, which comes to the owner of the animals and, on the other hand, cannot enter in as a gracious counterpart of hospitality.

237 24 [191] Such a case in point gives a measure of the importance that fertilizer assumes in this system. The great suppleness, if I may venture to say it, of the European peasant economy, to wit, the correlation between livestock breeding and cultivation, is thus found again here, evident and calculable. The accumulation of (342) the manure in the stable, agrur, often arranged on the ground floor of the house, its handling, and its being placed in piles before the tillage of autumn and spring, its dispersion on the fields: so many practices to which the high-valley cultivator devotes